

The ties that bind and loose: the Catholic community in Galloway, 1800-1998

BERNARD ASPINWALL, M.A.

Excommunication is essentially an affront to British liberty, life and the British constitution. Discussion, petition, an open court, confronting of witnesses, trial by jury, free press, these are the means of sifting truth and law in Anglo-Saxon countries. Public opinion is the Queen of the world as said some Italian. It is literally so here and in America.... If Catholicism rests on despotism, it is doomed in the Northern lands in this age of democracy and the diffusion of knowledge among the masses.¹

Far from being an outburst of the former Italian priest, the Rev. Alessandro Gavazzi, on one of his many tours of the area, this is a Galloway priest writing in 1887. His views indicate the variety of Scottish Catholic experience.

Historians of American ethnicity have long realised the past was not a unitary experience. "A more correct study of history must remove traditional fallacies and hereditary prejudices".² Catholic triumphalist historiography avoids less reassuring realities. Equally Catholics are contradictorily perceived as energetic Irish radicals or lazy and feckless, or in more extreme cases, like Charles Kingsley, as some sub-human species. Only Protestants fitted an imperialist, Darwinian, right-thinking democratic culture. To win acceptance and succeed within that climate was a tall order for Catholics.

A diocesan identity demanded Catholic space and Catholic time to capture emotion and intellect. A pilgrim people had to have personnel, nuns and priests; structures, churches and schools; their varied ethnic loyalties subsumed under ultramontane unity; love and fear mobilised for mutual support in frequent gatherings of sustaining organisations, devotional and practical. Traditions, novelty and local experience

¹ Rev. Thomas Keane to Propaganda, 16 Aug. 1887. *Scritti et Riferiti*, Sez. 1a, Archivio di Propaganda Fidei, Rome [APFR], vol. 9, fos. 206-9.

² Archbishop Charles Eyre, Sermon preached at the Opening of the National Council of Scotland, 17th Aug. 1886 (Glasgow, 1886), 11. See for example J. Bodnar, *Researching America: Public Memory, Commemoration and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, 1992). Kingsley's remarks in Charles Kingsley, *His Letters and Memoir of his Life*, ed. F.E.K. Kingsley (London, 1877), 107.

united patrons, priests and people: the ties that bound were those of Catholic Social Romanticism. That identity had to be made safe for the Scottish world: Scotland had to be made safe for the church.

Within a reliable, protective regime, routine and habit gave faith roots. Clerical authority and paternal domestic dominance strengthened familial links and discipline. Galloway like American Catholic experience reflects evolving family structures; from authoritarian, fracturing, loosening, then breaking away into inter-ethnic, inter-religious marriages or indifference. Over time migration, marriage across ethnic, geographic, class and ultimately, denominational boundaries eroded that interim regime. Under the fatherhood of God in Christ and the motherhood of Mary, children of faith matured, moved forward confidently, negotiated from strength rather than weakness and adjusted to the world with Christianised conscience. Disparate components were welded into an evolving whole.

The diocese of Galloway is the result of four reorganisations: its chequered diocesan fortunes reflect fluctuating socio-economic, pastoral and financial pressures. Part of the Lowland District to 1827, it was divided between Eastern and Western Districts until the creation of the diocese at the restoration of the hierarchy in 1878. Seventy years later, the addition of ten north Ayrshire parishes from Glasgow archdiocese doubled the number of faithful (34,700). In 1878 14,000 (0.5 per cent of the total population) Galloway Catholics had a priest to every 827 faithful in 14 missions: the third highest ratio in Scotland and far higher even than in Ireland. By 1950 the ratio was one priest to 475 faithful. Even at present there is a priest to every 733 faithful.³

Galloway initially was like a nineteenth-century English diocese. It had substantial aristocratic landowners, recusant and convert, a small middle class and masses of poor immigrants. Marmaduke Constable Maxwell of the recusant landed family, largely financed, designed and built the original cathedral at Dumfries and the Marquess of Bute gave an episcopal mitre and ring.⁴ But that was almost a last hurrah for the old order. Within a few years 90 per cent of the diocesan population was to be found in industrial Ayrshire although the cathedral only moved to Ayr in 1962.

Galloway does not fit the prevailing Catholic historiography. Too

³ Archbishop C. Eyre, *The Restoration of the Hierarchy*, 25 Oct. 1872, Scots College Archives, Rome [SCAR], 25/2. *Scottish Catholic Directory* [SCD], 1835-1995. Ireland had one priest to 1,250 faithful in 1870 and one to 900 in 1900. T. Garvin *The Evolution of Irish Nationalist Politics* (Dublin, 1981), 56.

⁴ *Modern Scottish Catholicism, 1878-1978*, ed. D. McRoberts (Glasgow, 1979), 28 n. 83.

often west central Scotland seems to be the totality of Catholic experience: neat, unreflectingly simplistic and resonant of Ibrox or Parkhead mentalities. Scottish Catholicism was fragmented: in 1868 the St Vincent de Paul Society was the only national Catholic voice.⁵ Combining scattered rural and small town areas, Galloway's diversity provides a more intelligent appreciation of the larger picture. Four of the seven churches built in southwest Scotland before Catholic Emancipation were in Galloway. In May 1890 *The Tablet* rejoiced in "A Harvest of Half A Century in Scotland" that of the seven churches in Scotland founded by converts four were in Galloway.⁶ In 1843 Dumfries alone had three priests and two schools: not surprisingly a few years later the Rev. Dr James Begg believed Dumfries-shire suffered unduly from twin tyrannies of aristocracy and Popery.⁷ In 1854 a parliamentary candidate, Alexander Oswald, rejoiced in Ayrshire's indifference to the Ecclesiastical Titles Act and found himself defeated: attitudes had hardened.⁸ By the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy the National Bible Society of Scotland lamented the impenetrable Popery of the poor.⁹ Success begat hostility.

Galloway, unlike P.P. Pugin's mass-produced chapels in Glasgow, has a rich architectural variety and a disproportionate number of churches honouring Scottish saints. A tenth of its churches preceded Catholic Emancipation while almost a half were built before 1900 and almost 30 per cent have been built since 1945.¹⁰ It does not fit the stereotype. At Whithorn, it has the oldest shrine of Christianity in Scotland. With a strong recusant tradition it has similarities with northern England. The Oxford movement in Scotland, whatever some may pretend, produced a flow of substantial converts as masses of Irish and other migrant groups arrived.¹¹ In an area of remarkable agrarian and industrial growth and even more rapid decline, the church expanded, consolidated and, more recently, reinvented itself to deal with declining and dormitory towns. By nature of history, geography and varied Catholic population, it is a complex picture. Today with responsibility for about one in 14 of all Catholic marriages and one in

⁵ *Tablet*, 26 Jan. 1868.

⁶ *Tablet*, 17 May 1890.

⁷ *SCD*, 1842, 1843, 1852; T. Smith, *Memoir of James Begg*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1888), ii, 113.

⁸ *Saltcoats and Ardrossan Herald*, 20 Dec. 1864.

⁹ National Bible Society of Scotland, *Annual Report 1878* (Edinburgh, 1879), 10-19.

¹⁰ Based on figures in *SCD*, 1991-95.

¹¹ *The Bailie*, for example, scoffs at the idea of any influence. W. Perry, *The Oxford Movement in Scotland* (Cambridge, 1933), is disappointing.

16 of all baptisms, it is the middle ranking of the eight Scottish dioceses.¹²

In brief the diocese has two traditions: the conservative and radical. A compassionate native-born recusancy, from French emigré clergy through the Marquess of Bute to the more recent, meaner far right of Hamish Fraser, contrasts with Burns' Catholic doctor, William Maxwell, through the Rev. Thomas Keane and the Rev. Henry Murphy to the liberal present. In the early nineteenth century a prominent layman in the Eastern District believed "religion would extend more rapidly, and its influence be more beneficial, were his Holiness possessed merely of a mitre instead of a crown and were the Papal States separated from the Vatican".¹³ In large measure that liberal tradition was dissipated by Protestant hostility.

The Catholic presence had small beginnings. A survey in 1750 found only five papists in Ayrshire, Renfrew and Lanarkshire.¹⁴ Like English Catholicism, Dumfriesshire had a strong, if declining, recusant tradition. Several former Jesuits were active and claimed some 300 Catholics around Terregles.¹⁵ But only 11 of 118 Scottish clergy served in this Catholic backwater in the century before emancipation. Even so the Synod of Ayr and Glasgow bitterly opposed Catholic relief in 1778.¹⁶

Industrial and French Revolutions changed matters. Ayrshire and Galloway with emigré French clergy contained radical notions. Catholic loyalism prevailed: a Catholic regiment was even offered. By 1825 the balance of power within Scottish Catholicism shifted dramatically. Thousands of Catholic highlanders left for North America; by 1804 13,000 reportedly dispersed.¹⁷ Emigration and death rapidly diminished old strongholds. Even so around 120,000 Scottish Catholics remained: some moved southwards.¹⁸ Compensating growth followed in Galloway and the southwest: the aftermath of 1798

¹² See SCD, 1998.

¹³ *Letter to His Grace the Duke of Wellington by a Scotch Catholic* (Edinburgh, 1828), 15, filed in APFR, vol. 4, fos. 203-17.

¹⁴ T.C. Smout and S. Wood, *Scottish Voices, 1745-1960* (London, 1990), 120.

¹⁵ A. Anson, *Underground Catholicism in Scotland* (Montrose, 1970), 183. Anon., *The Church of St. Peter, Dalbeattie: Sesquicentenary Celebrations, 29 June 1964* (Dalbeattie, 1964), 12 notes a decline from 168 in 1780 to 65 in 1786.

¹⁶ Figures based on the lists in Christine Johnson, "Secular Clergy of the Lowland District, 1732-1929", *Innes Review*, 34 (1984), 66-87. See Joseph McHardy in J.E. Shaw, *Ayrshire, 1745-1850* (Edinburgh, 1953), 96-112, 100.

¹⁷ See Reports in APFR, vol. 4, 1802, 1804; Rev. Eneas MacDonald, 21 Oct. 1816, fos. 81-91; Rev. Norman MacDonald, 27 Feb. 1819, fos. 102-3; *ibid.*, 1 Mar. 1820, *ibid.*, fos. 106-7.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, fo. 15.

brought over many Irish Catholics. Cattle drives and seasonal work increased Irish familiarity with the area. By 1822 some 3,000 Irish were in Galloway including more than 200 in Dumfries and Kirkcubright and many Irish weavers settled in Ayr, Girvan and Dumfries in the 1820s and 1830s.¹⁹

Old leadership was somewhat less assured. The church moved out from landed estate to the town: Terregles gave way to Dumfries. By 1813 the landed proprietor, Marmaduke Constable Maxwell had to surrender his domestic chaplain to Dumfries.²⁰ Collections in the Western District and England for new chapels at Ayr, Dalbeattie and Kirkcudbrightshire showed a wider, popular dependency. By 1825, the priest at Newton Stewart baptised more than 100 a year. By 1840 Rome learned of 6,104 faithful and 218 baptisms in Ayrshire and 2,828 in Wigton and 101 baptisms: by 1845 the Rev. Henry Small, Dumfries, served over 3,000 Irish scattered across almost a hundred miles.²¹ Others were employed in quarries around Newton Stewart, the ironworks and mines of Ayrshire. By 1843, 4,000 Irish were employed in Scottish mines: they were reportedly 90 per cent of Scottish miners between 1844 and 1890. Others, poor, casuals or occasionally strikebreakers, encountered hostility.

Not surprisingly Wigtownshire saw many transient Irish poor from 1845. Denied relief between 1845 to 1854 more than 47,000 Irish poor were sent back from Scotland.²² Contact and organisation was often difficult and unsatisfactory: Mass might be available only every four to six weeks in areas, like Muirkirk or Stranraer. Rapid growth produced haphazard arrangements: initially Newton Stewart mission extended forty miles in every direction while Campbeltown served Largs and Rothesay.²³ Manpower and resources were stretched to the

¹⁹ J. Wilson, *A Voyage Round the Coast of Scotland and the Isles*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1842), 51; and N. Murray, *The Scottish Handloom Weavers, 1790-1850: A Social History* (Edinburgh, 1978), 166.

²⁰ Bishop A. Cameron, 12 June 1813 and Rev. W. Reid to M. Constable Maxwell, 26 April, 5 June 1813, Constable Maxwell Papers, Hull University Library. *Tablet*, 19 Oct. 1850.

²¹ Rev. H. Small, 31 Jan. 1845, APFR, vol. 5, fos. 383-4; *ibid.*, 5, fo. 421, 11 Mar. 1846; *ibid.*, 30 Dec. 1854, 6, fo. 149, 22. *Poor Law Amendment Act, 17th Report Select Committee Minutes of Evidence and Appendix, 1838* (1837-38, vol. xviii, part 2, 222; *Report of the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring poor in Scotland* (1842), 137, 223.

²² R.H. Campbell, "Irish Paupers in Wigtownshire after 1845", *Scottish Archives*, 2 (1996), 47-62; A.B. Campbell, *The Lanarkshire Miners* (Edinburgh, 1979); J.E. Handley, *The Irish in Scotland, 1798-1845* (Cork, 1943), 157-266 remains the classic account. For populations, see Table 1 below.

²³ Rev. Michael Condon Diaries, 500, Glasgow Archdiocesan Archives [GAA]; *Glasgow Free Press*, 5 July 1856.

limit until the arrival of more priests and railways slowly improved matters. Even after 1861 pastoral problems persisted. Only slowly was access won to Catholics in the poorhouse. In 1855 the redoubtable Rev. Henry Small in Dumfries was allowed to take them to Mass. Later the Rev. Thomas Keane took New Testaments and tracts to the literate and rosary beads or medals to the illiterate.²⁴ A fluctuating economy, varied quality of priests, a shifting, if improving population made for uneven development. Like the Church of Vatican II, Galloway was always forming and reforming.

By 1851 11 per cent of Ayrshire's population was Irish-born; almost 2,000 were in Kilmarnock. Two thirds of Wigtonshire's population, if not wholly Catholic, was Irish. Even before the Famine many casual or handcraft workers arrived, often sustained by folk religion. Two examples are indicative. William McNamee, itinerant army veteran and stepfather of James Dawson Burn, remained faithful in the face of abuse, hardship and brushes with the law.²⁵ Another the handloom weaver poet, Roger Quinn, settled with his highland Catholic wife in Dumfries, wrote critiques of the new order and apologetics for his faith.²⁶ Growth offset by ignorance and poverty led many to attend Protestant chapels and take Protestant partners. The Rev. Henry Small proved equal to the challenge. He averaged eight or nine converts a year with an astonishing 40 in the winter of 1841-42. In the next decade he welcomed a Free Church lawyer into the church as well as 21 converts in one year. Preaching four times on Sunday, he might spend twenty hours in the confessional or attract a hundred Protestants to vespers. Not surprisingly his energetic pastorate saw baptisms rise from 78 to 145, marriages from 12 to 22 and Easter Communion from 465 to 1,007 between 1840 and 1855.²⁷ Expanding industry attracted more Catholics. By 1849 struggling St Joseph's, Kilmarnock had 730 sittings while workers pressed for a chapel at Dalmellington.²⁸ In 1858 Dalry added a gallery to accommodate more parishioners while Ayr had around 600, largely Irish, in the new mission with Troon. A further 350 Catholic soldiers wintered in Ayr to

²⁴ Rev. T. Keane to Archbishop C. Eyre, 7 Nov. 1870, 10 Jan. 1871, GAA.

²⁵ J.D. Burn, *The Autobiography of a Beggar Boy* (1855), ed. D. Vincent (London, 1978), 41-55.

²⁶ R. Quinn, *The Borderland and Other Poems* (Galashiels, 1908), introduction; G.E. Todd, *Leaves from the Life of a Scottish Man of Letters* (Glasgow, 1903).

²⁷ Rev. H. Small, Dumfries, 11 March 1841, APFR, vol. 5, fos. 291-2; *ibid.*, 5, fos. 323-4; 15 June 1842, 5, fos. 63-4; *ibid.*, 11 Mar. 1846, 5, fo. 421; *ibid.*, 26 Dec. 1852, 6, fos. 63-4; *ibid.*, 30 Dec. 1855, APFR, 6, fo. 199. The previous year with 57 fewer parishioners he had 33 marriages and 164 baptisms: *ibid.*, 30 Dec. 1854, 6, fo. 149.

²⁸ *Tablet*, 31 March 1849.

place further burdens on resources.²⁹ Ethnic and religious loyalty encouraged self-sacrifice and community achievement. It was a remarkable transformation.

In 1878, the new diocese was even more Irish. To the south were agricultural labourers and to the north industrial workers. Wigtownshire had 2,350, Dumfriesshire 1,001 and Kirkcudbright 856. Ayrshire claimed 14,070 with 1277 at Ayr and 1146 at Kilmarnock but most were in smaller, tightly knit mining and port communities.³⁰ Although a declining proportion of the population post-Famine migrants were increasingly literate, single and at risk. In 1871 more than half the Irish-born in Ayrshire and Dumfries and 40 per cent of those in Wigton were under 20 years of age. Four fifths of those leaving Ireland, 1880-1900 were young and single. By 1889 Catholics comprised some 17,000, less than five per cent of the total population within diocesan boundaries. But more pertinently almost 16 per cent were under twelve years of age.³¹ The diocese was overwhelmingly young and urbanised.

Emigration and immigration accelerated in the late nineteenth century: many left declining agriculture, failing mills and quarries for America and elsewhere. Equally striking was the arrival of thousands of young Lithuanians, Spaniards and Italians from the 1880s; but that inward migration subsequently levelled off to decline steeply in the early twentieth century. Their need for a lively faith was recognised by Pope Pius X who encouraged frequent Holy Communions from an early age. Faith had to be emotionally rooted and portable: fear for the future of family and traditional networks increased amid rapidly shifting scenes. Colourful, sensuous devotions might appeal to younger elements and reinforce recently constructed tradition under clerical leadership. Memories of shared experiences built parochial loyalties and gave migrants a portable faith to be revived elsewhere in a similar fashion. In short the group rejoiced in continuing achievements. A church, youthful in character, was forming and being formed in faith for distant lands: the introduction to the 1870 Census expected 40 per cent to emigrate. In reaction churches and supportive networks slowly developed. New devotions gradually permeated sprawling Galloway: inculcation of basic disciplines of faith was the best hope among transients until compulsory education and more

²⁹ Rev. John Gallagher, 31 Dec. 1859, APFR, vol. 6, fos. 347-8; *ibid.*, 31 Dec. 1860, 6, fo. 425; Rev. Hugh Gallagher, Dalmellington, 31 Dec 1863, *ibid.*, 6, fos. 607-8.

³⁰ See J. Denvir, *The Irish in Britain* (London, 1892), 384-5.

³¹ Rapport sur le diocese de Galloway, Ecosse, November 1889, APFR, vol. 9, fos. 503-9. On the background see J. Harris, *Private Lives, Public Spirit: A Social History of Britain, 1870-1914* (Oxford, 1993), 42-44.

settled employments were established.

That is not to revive the devotional revolution thesis, admirably put in context by Mary Heimann, *Catholic Devotion in Victorian England* (Oxford, 1995). But it is an argument that in a young, virgin Catholic land, those devotions were usually the first and only forms experienced. Ultramontanist blunted ethnic nationalism in common unity. Sheer numbers demanded popular preaching, hymns, practices, voluntary devotional bodies to foster commitment among the previously unapproached or uneducated faithful. Devotions spread more rapidly than unliturgical practices like benediction: medals and booklets were readily available from an early stage. As chapels were often far from the hearth so gatherings were less frequent. Larger parishes had confraternities of Christian Doctrine, the Sacred Heart, Children of Mary, Holy Family, Apostleship of Prayer, League of the Cross and Catholic Young Men's Societies and lending libraries or even reading rooms. St John's, Cumnock, had Catholic histories, the works of Scott, C.J. Kickham, Tom Moore and more surprisingly, of Luby, O'Meagher Condon, O'Neill Daunt, Denvir and Parnell.³²

The Marquess of Bute, prominent in building exceptional churches, encouraged meticulous liturgy and choral music. His zeal for excellence overwhelmed reluctant clergy as at Cumnock: he even provided scholarships for his choir school at Oban.³³ But just as popular hymns – although those to St Patrick were excluded – invariably proved more effective than poorly performed classical works, so non-liturgical practices were far more attractive. At the restoration of the hierarchy only nine chapels had weekly benediction but by 1900 16 diocesan churches had weekly rosary and benediction while vespers had disappeared. Only two churches boasted of their Sunday Missa Cantata, an indication of elevated taste and devotion.³⁴ Either way music was a moralising art form: faith was a total experience.

Stable structures enveloped fractured lives. Catholics initially were poorer and more likely to be casual or migratory workers. In 1869 alone the number of miners at Annbank colliery for instance fluctuated

³² Anon., *History of St John's Parish, Cumnock* (1882). Also see J.H.Tremenheere in *Report of the Commission on Employment of Children, Young Persons and Women in Agriculture, 1867*, C221 (1870), 98-9 quoting *Report of the Scottish Schools Commission* (1866).

³³ See my essay in *The See of Ninian: A History of the Medieval Diocese of Whithorn and the Diocese of Galloway in Modern Times*, ed. R. McCluskey (Ayr, 1997), especially 97-9, 164-6.

³⁴ See *SCD*, 1878 and 1900. By 1993 only one Galloway parish advertised benediction, *SCD* 1993.

wildly from 200 to 900 and from 1880, poor, rootless Mayo and Donegal migrants needed a portable faith for survival.³⁵ To meet their demands, the S.V.P. began in the Western District 1848, spread to Kilmarnock and Ayr (1868) under the former bishop, James Lynch, and on to Irvine (1874), Cumnock (1894) and then to other parishes. A few innovations were attempted. In 1870 Kilmarnock S.V.P. operated a kitchen garden as well as selling rosaries and statues to raise income for clients. Social and religious priorities of clergy from small shopkeeper or farmer background coincided in efforts to transform such wanderers: roots in faith and community disciplines were paramount. The Jesuit, the Rev. Fr Francis Head, son of a substantial highland landowner, exulted later in the disappearance of bedraggled, travelling Catholic masses from the roads of Scotland.³⁶

Life could be nasty, brutal and short. The apostolate then was geared to the poverty of resources, clergy and laity. A mobile young flock accustomed to the frequent deaths of children or their spouses literally felt the judgement of God was at hand. To give hope amid fear and balm in stress were vital.³⁷ Emotional commitment, appeal to folk tradition, ethnic loyalty and hard life experiences made for a warm religion of fear, compensating colour and reassurance.

That elevating influence came as many churches were extended, redecorated, given new altars, side chapels, stained glass windows, and stations of the cross from Paris or Germany. The church became a lavish parlour as if the home of the faithful. Stranraer, for example, added all these in 1886. As early 1834 Dumfries had an organ, elaborate sung Masses and a copy of van Dyke's "Descent from the Cross" above the altar. Kilmarnock had an organ from the beginning. Kilbirnie added one in 1875-76.³⁸ Captain Barré-Cunninghame of Hensol, Castle Douglas, a convert bought the site for the Kirkcudbright church and then gave stations and stained glass

³⁵ See B.E. Paterson, "The Social and Working Conditions of Ayrshire Mining Population, 1840-75", *Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, 10 (1972), 206-60.

³⁶ Quoted in *Tablet*, 11 Oct. 1879. See also Ecclesiastical Students, 1869-03 and Applicants 1890-91, GAA.

³⁷ I. Bradley, *Abide With Me: The World of Victorian Hymns* (London, 1997), 108-23. On the background see First Report of the Commissioners on Mines (1842), 33; Report of the Inspectors of Coal Mines, West of Scotland, 1854-64, 1870-71; E.H. Hair, "Mortality from Violence in British Coalmines, 1800-50", *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., 21 (1965), 348-60. *Ardrossan and Saltcoats Herald*, 15 Dec. 1854 on cholera in Girvan. On violence at railway construction near Lockerbie in 1846. Select Committee Report: Railway Labour, Minutes of Evidence, (1846), vol. 13 (530).

³⁸ See annual descriptions in *SCD*, 1834-87. Also Canon Sheehan, *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 3rd series, vol. 3 (Oct. 1882), 614.

windows.³⁹ In the 1860s Jesuit missions and a Catholic sheriff in Ayrshire, Mr Shearer, were active in containing Ribbonism or militancy: revolution was a futile gesture.⁴⁰

Frequent deaths, illness and disruption made Catholic stability even more attractive. Prevailing Liguorian theology pushed fearful faithful to greater dependency upon a priest in confession. A rigid moral code, enforced by guilt and sin drove transients into similar communities on their travels. An emotionally rooted faith had to travel well. Commitment demanded external show and internal restraint.⁴¹ Churches dedicated to Scottish saints and the Virgin Mary reinforced that rootedness and provided a reassuring madonna who crossed class and national boundaries to empower the weak. Processions or homes with devotions, statues and medals as a extended church, carved out Catholic space: frequent assemblies fostered solidarity and internal social pressures in an alien environment. Modest prosperity gave voluntary associations momentum. Insufficient churches close to potential faithful, lack of adequate priests, education and suitable publications made colourful devotions like benediction, stations of the cross, rosaries, medals and lay confraternities useful pastoral devices in building new communities. In particular Jesuit-inspired devotions to the Sacred Heart and the Virgin Mary proliferated: confraternities, the Living Rosary, Apostleship of Prayer. Time committed to such activities limited occasions of sin: they curbed drink, radicalism and "leakage". Transcending class, gender, ethnic and national boundaries: they united all sorts and conditions in a sentimental, religion of love. The Marian devotional emphasis on chastity, temperance and self-denial enabled the faithful to survive in a harsh industrial world.⁴²

³⁹ *Tablet*, 18 Oct. 1884; Annual Returns, Kilbirnie 1875-76. Barré-Cunninghame, b.1836, educated at Eton, served in the Life Guards, owned over 7,000 acres in Kirkeudbright and Peebles. J. Bateman, *The Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland* (Leicester, 1971 edn.), 115; M. Harper *et al.*, *St Andrews and St. Culbert, Kirkcudbright, 1845-1985* (1985), and *St Paul's Church, Hurlford, Centenary, 1883-1983* (1983).

⁴⁰ Saltecoats Mission Report, 1860, Scotland, Farm St Jesuit Archives, London; SCD, 1861 and T. McGrattan, *St. Peter in Chains, Ardrossan, 1938-88* (1988).

⁴¹ See J. Sperber, *Popular Catholicism in Nineteenth Century Germany* (Princeton, 1984), and D. Blackburn, *Class, Religion and Local Parties in Wilhelmine Germany: The Centre Party in Wurttemberg before 1914* (New Haven, 1990), for a fuller discussion of these points.

⁴² See S. Cuneen, *In Search of Mary: The Woman and the Symbol* (New York, 1996), esp. 230-44 and M. Carroll, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary* (Princeton, 1986), 195-6; R.A. Orsi, *The Madonna of 115th Street: Faith and Community in Italian Harlem, 1880-1950* (New Haven, 1985), and his *Thank You, St. Jude. Women's Devotion to the Patron Saint of Helpless Causes* (New Haven, 1996), 14-39 and M.

Older clergy gave way to new Roman educated clergy who warmed to the purifying effect of revivalism. With statues and medals domestic space became a moral haven, captured for the church. That perhaps reflected the devotee's powerlessness outwith the home especially in the days of disfranchisement and discrimination. Churches were in turn the drawing rooms of the poor; pleasant, comfortable with incense, candles, popular hymns and choral music to elevate the soul. The object was to win over waverers through conservative British and ultramontane notions: even hymns of St Patrick, according to one Irish cleric, were excluded from hymnbooks.⁴³

Scottish clergy dominated but until recently the diocese was heavily dependent upon Irish priests. If 85 Irish-born clergy served in the diocese from 1878 almost 90 have been Scottish-born. In education, leaving aside the Irish, clergy have varied with around 25 each from Rome and Valladolid; 15 in Scotland and France, ten in Ireland, eight in England and three former members of religious orders.⁴⁴ There were remarkable pioneering priests like the Rev. William Reid at Dumfries; the Rev. Thomas Wallace, Kilmarnock; the Rev. Thomas Keane, Kilwinning and Irvine; the Rev. W.J. O'Shaughnessy in Irvine and Girvan; the Rev. Henry Small in Dumfries. Several clergy were considerable scholars. The Rev. Aeneas Dawson wrote an anti-Irish *History of the Church in Scotland* (1892). After serving at Dumfries, 1835-40, he promoted The Association of St Margaret, a body intended to elevate the social and intellectual condition of the flock. An elite local convert, the Rev. J.A.S. Stothert, advocate, writer, and poet, died in obscurity in Southwark. In recent times, the Rev. Joseph McHardy M.C. (1874-1966), distinguished for military and public service, and John McQuillan, (1889-1970) seminary professor, friend of G.K. Chesterton and chaplain to the Symington Land Colony, are pre-eminent.⁴⁵

The diocese has never replicated its own clergy on a satisfactory scale: even an early priest, the Rev. Thomas Bagnall (died 1826) was the son of a Staffordshire entrepreneur based in Glasgow. The

Driskel, *Representing Belief: Art and Society in Nineteenth Century France* (University Park, Pa., 1992), 19-98.

⁴³ Copy of letter, Rev. M. Condon to Rev. Forbes, 23 Feb. 1864, Condon Diaries 1864, GAA.

⁴⁴ Based on C. Johnson, *Scottish Catholic Secular Clergy, 1879-1989* (Edinburgh, 1991), and her articles in *Innes Review*, 40 (1989), 24-68 and 106-52.

⁴⁵ See above; Dawson in *Rambler*, 3 (1849), 597-8; *The Catholic Institute Magazine*, 1855-58 has Stothert contributions; and my "Broadfield Revisited: Some Scottish Catholic Responses to Wealth 1918-40", *The Church And Wealth: Studies in Church History*, 24 (1987), 393-406.

vocations crisis is as old as the area. The same appears to be true for nuns. Although one jaundiced observer claimed nuns in Scotland were invariably Irish, many seem to have been English and French from prosperous rural or commercial backgrounds.⁴⁶ Suffice to say to unite these diverse groups into a cohesive union of committed souls was a major achievement.

The clergy suffered casualties. Ill-health and, occasionally, disenchantment played a part. Dalry had two ailing priests, then the restless Rev. John McDermott, author of *Father Jonathan or The Scottish Convert* (Philadelphia, 1853), who soon left for America. Two years later debt laden the Rev. Aeneas Dawson of Dumfries, and the Rev. Thomas Casey after service in Kilmarnock and Girvan, left in 1854. A year later the Rev. Thomas Moore departed after ten years of parochial clashes and insoluble financial burdens in Stranraer. The Rev. J.L. O' Gorman spent 14 years in dire poverty before he left. Briefly in Dumfries, the Rev. Stephen Keenan, author of an influential catechism, moved on to Dundee. In an emergency after an Irish priest left for America, a Passionist ill served Kilwinning in 1868-70.⁴⁷

Drink, women and three apostasies took their toll. The Rev. James Smith, "proud as Lucifer and more profligate" according to a fellow priest, outraged his Newton Stewart flock, left for America and returned in 1854 as a Buckie publican! On occasion priests on short term loans proved embarrassments. The Rev. James Forbes, briefly at Cumnock, became a lecturer for the Protestant Reformation Society on condition they paid his debts of £70: he later returned to serve the church in South America.⁴⁸ In 1890 after eight years in Galloway, the Rev. Henry Lavery of Cumnock, moved to Nottingham and then became an Anglican priest.⁴⁹ On occasion Galloway offered refuge to priests in a crisis like the Rev. James McKeown, Springfield, Massachusetts, who resided in Dalry 1889-91.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ See "Convents of the United Kingdom", *Fraser's Magazine*, n.s., 9 (1878), 14-24; [Miss Cusack - the Nun of Kenmare] "Convent Boarding Schools for Young Ladies", *ibid.* (1874), 778-86 and C. Clear, *Nuns in Nineteenth Century Ireland* (Dublin, 1987).

⁴⁷ This paragraph is based on Condon Diaries (1845), GAA, 356, 453, 464, 480; (1851), 153, 233, 263 *re* Rev. Kerr, Rothesay, 324; Rev. Thomas Wallace, Cumnock; (1852), Hamilton Diary, 163; (1853), 263.

⁴⁸ Condon Diary (1852), 190.

⁴⁹ Rev. H. McLaughlin, 1 Oct. 1891, APFR, vol. 9, fo. 682; Bishop Bagshawe, 15 Aug. 1891, *ibid.*, fo. 685; Rev. H. McLaughlin, 2 May 1891, *ibid.*, fos. 687-90. M. Taylor, *The Scots College in Spain*, list.

⁵⁰ Rev. G.H. Campbell, 21 June 1889, *ibid.*, vol. 9, fo. 708 and Rev. J. McKeown, 13 May, 5 Aug., 17 Nov. 1889, fos. 710-13; 1 Dec. 1891, fo. 715; Archbishop C. Eyre, 26 Dec. 1891, fo. 720.

Although priests were always in short supply tensions between Irish and Scottish clergy persisted. In the Western District Bishop John Murdoch believed Irishmen unsuited to take charge of any mission: "They look upon themselves as strangers and do not take or manifest that deep interest in advancing the cause of religion which the native clergy evince".⁵¹ In his mind their political activities, temporary sojourn or unreliability loomed large. But hard pressed bishops at times still found themselves with unsatisfactory imported priests. Unruly, political Irish clergy presented problems. In 1832 the Rev. O'Beirne or Byrne was suspended. On tour through Ayr and Kilmarnock, he publicly supported radical political reform and fiercely criticised Scottish clergy. Although he won support from leading Kilmarnock laity in February 1833, he was eventually forced from the district.⁵² Three other disruptive Irish clergy left for America in 1845-46. Even so a radical Irish migrant had three sons priests including the Rev. David MacCartney (1826-1906) who served in the diocese with distinction.⁵³ Antagonism persisted. In 1867 the Rev. Alexander Munro felt they were preoccupied with the Irish in Scotland rather than with the people of Scotland while even the Irish-born bishop James Lynch lamented the poor quality of All Hallows clergy on the mission.⁵⁴ In 1868 Eyre, successor to the Western District was anxious to eliminate "unreliable" or Irish nationalist clergy.⁵⁵ In Galloway Bishop John McLachlan followed a similar line. The Rev. Henry Murphy of Muirkirk, a vigorous supporter of Parnell, proved a severe persistent embarrassment: his vote on his election to the Glasgow school board was many times greater than the official Catholic candidates. He and others like the Rev. Henry Canning were gradually eased out.⁵⁶ Friction was endemic between clergy and between clergy and laity. Money may have been central in these clashes but invariably they gave

⁵¹ Sec SCAR, 16/85B, letter to Dr Grant, Scots College, Rome, 6 Dec. 1846. His letters 16/68, 12 March 1845; 16/88, 18 Aug. 1847; 16/91H, 11 May 1847; 16/92, 22 March 1848; 16/96, 3 Nov. 1848; 16/101, 24 Jan. 1849; 16/148, 21 May 1852; 16/151, 7 Nov. 1852; 16/152, 10 Dec. 1852; 16/153, 19 Dec. 1852; and APR, vol. 4, fo. 444, Bishop James Kyle, 10 April 1834 show similar concerns.

⁵² Extract letter from Bishop J. Scott to Rev. Aeneas MacDonald, 9 Nov 1832. APFR, vol. 4 fos. 393-4.

⁵³ Bishop J. Scott, 15 Feb. 1833, APR, vol.4, fo. 416.

⁵⁴ Rev. A. Munro to Rev. Dr A. Grant, 28 May 1867, SCAR 17/31 and Bishop J. Lynch to Cardinal Cullen, 26, 31 Aug 1867, Cullen papers, Dublin Archdiocesan Archives. Lynch found two were unfamiliar with confession procedures.

⁵⁵ Sec C. Ryder, *Life of Thomas Edward Bridgett* (London, 1907), and my "Anyone for Glasgow; The Strange Nomination of Rt. Rev. Charles Eyre in 1868", *Recusant History*, 23 (1997), 589-601

⁵⁶ *Bailie*, 12 April 1882 and my essay in *The See of Ninian*, ed. McCluskey, 129-35.

rise to issues of ethnicity, the nature of authority and rights. The Rev. John Carmont, supported by the Marquess of Bute, fought a vigorous battle against the bishops over their illegal use of the Mitchell Fund rather than for clerical pensions.⁵⁷ Others soldiered on. Impenetrable by "respectable" opinion, group solidarity and resistance to proselytism strengthened to enable more subtle clergy to create a new Catholic identity.

In these circumstances bishops and clergy were anxious to promote camaraderie, to maintain their fervour and to keep abreast of developments. In Dumfries St Ninian's Conference began on 17 September 1878. Matters discussed initially included Catholic servants' attendance at prayers in Protestant houses, Catholic typesetters working on anti-Catholic papers and the use of the Bible in state schools. Five years later Stranraer, Newton Stewart and Wigtonshire established their own conference.⁵⁸

Clergy were sometimes poor managers and poor pastors. In Irvine the Rev. Thomas Keane found a slum church, unpaid bills and the gas cut off. His predecessors had sold off the church hall, horse, pig and left an annual deficit of £40 p.a. Even worse, the failure to establish schools, charitable organisations or good communal relations meant half of all Catholics were lost in fifty years. Newsagents refused even to carry innocuous Catholic papers like *The Lamp*. He feared the mission would go the way of Girvan, ill served by ailing, inadequate priests.⁵⁹ His zeal expressed itself in other ways. When the *Glasgow Free Press*, 7 May 1864, published the resolutions of the 22 Irish priests complaining of the treatment of Irish clergy and laity by their Scottish superiors, he was one of seven signatories who came from what became the Galloway diocese. It was a cruel see.

Bishops who ruled what became the Galloway diocese were a diverse group.⁶⁰ The six bishops to date gave solidity. Averaging twenty years as bishops and over 42 years as priests they embody Scottish experience and strong Roman credentials. Five have been Scots-born, one English: none was born in the diocese. Four were

⁵⁷ See J. Carmont. *An Episode in the Management of the Mission* (Blairgowrie, 1901), and his *Observations on the Quota Fund to which is added Rt. Rev. Bishop Hay, History of the Scottish Clerical Quota Fund* (n.d., n.p.), The Marquess of Bute strongly supported him.

⁵⁸ 17 Sept. 1878, MSS Minutes Diocese of Galloway, St Ninian's Conference, Dumfries. I am grateful to the Rt. Rev. Maurice Taylor, bishop of Galloway for access.

⁵⁹ Rev. T. Keane to Archbishop C. Eyre, 10 Jan. 1881 and Statement of the Parish, 7 Nov. 1870, GAA.

⁶⁰ See SCD, 1835-79 and J. Darragh, *The Catholic Hierarchy of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1986).

educated in Rome and two at the Scots College, Valladolid. More than any Bishop James Gillis set the tone for a more assertive Catholicism. Confident in himself and his elite converts, he nurtured grandiose schemes whether in the Holy Gild of St Joseph, proposed colleges or a huge cathedral designed by Pugin. His exuberance reflected the new mood. Between 1835 and 1878 the number of churches grew from three to 13 and the number priests trebled to 15 with almost 17,000 faithful. He, like bishops Andrew Scott and John Murdoch, bemoaned a rapid turnover of clergy: 19 left in a few years.⁶¹ To counteract these difficulties he belatedly began clerical retreats in 1853 for spiritual and professional camaraderie. Such teething pains, exaggerated by other issues, mask the persistency of clergy. Between 1830 and 1878 and again from 1878 to the present, the average residence of priests in any parish is five or more years. Some stayed exceptionally long periods: the Rev. B. Douglas Dick (1849-1939) ministered over 40 years in New Abbey.⁶² That injection of stability and order could only follow with viable missions and later parish structures.

Clergy depended on lay support. Substantial subsidies came from affluent laymen: the Marquess of Bute proved exceptional in his generosity. The Constable Maxwell family was also prominent. Related to the English Catholic recusant aristocracy, they shared similar moderate Tory attitudes. In 1794, with leading Catholics they staunchly maintained loyalty to the crown: that paternalist Tory outlook persisted.⁶³ James, his brother, was a Jesuit and Mary, his sister, married Charles Langdale, M.P. a leading Catholic campaigner. In 1869 their daughter Elizabeth became superior of the new Perth convent. Marmaduke Constable Maxwell designed and built the original cathedral at Dumfries. In 1848, for example, he gave £1,000 towards Dalbeth.⁶⁴ His brother, Lord Herries, the Catholic Duchess of Buccleuch, Mrs Glendowyn Scott and her Repealer son, Charles, friend of O'Neill Daunt, were generous supporters. Convert Captain Cunninghame of Hensol gave the Goldie chapel at Castle Douglas in 1869 and John Campbell of Skerrington the land for Hurlford chapel-

⁶¹ Bishop J. Gillis, 4 June 1859, APFR, vol. 6, fos. 311-13. Also Bishop A. Scott to Rev. A. Grant, 3 Dec. 1845. Copy of letter Rev. M. Condon to Rev. Forbes, 23 Feb. 1864, Condon Diaries 1864, SCAR, 16/51. Analysis based on C. Johnson, *Scottish Catholic Secular Clergy, 1879-1989* (Edinburgh, 1991), and her articles in *The Innes Review*, 40 (1989), 24-68 and 106-52.

⁶² On Rev. Douglas Barrington Dick, see *Tablet*, 3 Dec. 1881 and *SCD* 1940 obituary.

⁶³ W. Fraser, *The Book of Caerlaverock*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1872). i, xiv-xxiv and 585; ii, 398, 22 March 1794 and *Report on Conventual and Monastic Institutions*, 1870 (383), 1680 *et seq.*

⁶⁴ Bishop J. Murdoch to Rev. A. Grant, 22 March 1848, SCAR 16/94.

school in 1883.⁶⁵ Even more munificent was Lady Herries' gift of the convent and boarding school at Corbely Hill, Dumfries (1884). She also brought the Sisters of Charity so that by 1892 five nuns were visiting, nursing and teaching. Their success seriously concerned the Free Church and encouraged renewed anti-Roman campaigns: but the convent hysteria had passed. At Annan and Creetown, even former Free Churches were acquired.⁶⁶ Poor laity also showed ethnic and Catholic solidarity in help for even poorer areas. In 1849 Ayr, allegedly dependent on English largesse, and Dumfries raised £24 for the Campbeltown mission.⁶⁷

Women played major roles in a revitalised faith. As the cult of the Virgin Mary grew, their role correspondingly increased: maternalism was the essence of altruism. Nuns, mothers and pure daughters were the transmitters of religious culture. The contribution of nuns in nursing, teaching and prayer was massive. Religious orders particularly from France with English and Irish members made the diocese more cosmopolitan, more ultramontane and more effective. The Sisters of St Joseph of Cluny were the first to arrive in 1879 at Girvan. Others followed. The Sacred Heart Sisters (1883), the Little Sisters of the Poor, (1890), the Benedictines and Sisters of Charity (1892), the Passionists, (1896), the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur (1902) and others. Some orders, old or more recent, were transitory: Birnieknowe and Auckinleck had three religious orders between 1853 and 1893. But in welfare and education their contribution covered for limited numbers of educated, professional laity until 1945. More recently, religious orders have declined as their roles have been eroded by the state and by laity. Even so they still have 14 Galloway houses with 61 ageing members.⁶⁸

Male religious orders were slower to arrive. They were too expensive to deploy and the central belt provided more opportunities. Parochial missions slowly became more common. Although bishop James Lynch at Ayr found Scots averse to Vincentian missions in 1867, his work proved successful.⁶⁹ Later forays were more welcome. Passionists, Redemptorists and Rosminians made their influence felt

⁶⁵ See Condon Diaries, chapter 41, 557, GAA; the voluminous correspondence in Constable Maxwell Papers; *St. Paul's Church, Hurlford Centenary, 1883-1983* (Hurlford, 1983), and *Church of St John the Evangelist, Castle Douglas, Centenary celebrations, Sunday 3 Dec. 1967* (Castle Douglas, 1967).

⁶⁶ See *St Ninian's Newton Stewart* pamphlet.

⁶⁷ Condon Diaries, 590-94, 605 in Kilmarnock (1856), 498-99.

⁶⁸ M. Dilworth, "The Religious Orders in Scotland, 1878-1978", in *Modern Scottish Catholicism, 1878-1978*, ed. McRoberts, 92-109 and SCD 1993-98.

⁶⁹ Bishop J. Lynch to Cardinal Cullen, 26, 31 Aug. 1867, Cullen papers.

through parish missions and retreats in cooperation with Jesuits and Franciscans. Missions at Dumfries (1859), Kilmarnock (1871), Saltcoats (1860 and 1874), Irvine (1880), Stranraer (1881), Ayr (1867 and 1879) and elsewhere had revitalising effects: some even walked 26 miles to attend.⁷⁰ In 1873, Marists established their Dumfries boarding school which continued until 1996. Praemonstratensians, encouraged by the Marquess of Bute, came to Wigton in 1889 to educate boys for farmwork overseas. It proved only slightly more lasting than their abrasive and short-lived *The Liberator*.⁷¹ These ministrations of religious foreshadowed and accompanied the restored hierarchy. With Tridentine Catholicism, a disciplined church might win respect.

Education, another vital community building endeavour, was slow to develop. Early attempts to found schools in Ayr, Kilmarnock and Girvan foundered but prospects slowly improved as a basic infrastructure was established. Schools remained heavy burdens in terms of resources, personnel and time. In 1866 Bishop John Strain could not afford to bring in the Christian Brothers.⁷² Schools demanded suitable, qualified staff. That initially meant nuns, pupil-teachers and finally professionally trained teachers. It was part of the feminisation of the church: men were few. Schools were an excellent means of inculcating uplifting, socially transforming Christian values among the poor. The creation of a "holy heart" was vital.⁷³ With a healthy, social cheerfulness, the more able would be incorporated within the group. But poverty and the scattered nature of the flock prevented the diocese building significant schools or going further to develop its own seminary or institutions for advanced education of laymen. At best it fulfilled the basic educational needs of poorer and middling classes.

Elementary education and basic catechetics were costly: pupils left school at the first opportunity. Few chapels at first boasted day schools and Sunday Schools except Saltcoats, Kilwinning, Stranraer, Crosshouse and Castle Douglas. By 1862 Sunday Schools were in

⁷⁰ Rev. T. Keane to Propaganda, 16 Aug. 1887, APR. vol. 4, fo. 206 : *Tablet*, 21 May 1859.

⁷¹ See *The Liberator*, Jan. 1890 and O.D. Edwards, "The Catholic Press in Scotland since the Restoration of the Hierarchy", in *Modern Scottish Catholicism, 1878-1978*, ed. McRoberts, 156-82.

⁷² Bishop J. Strain to M. Constable Maxwell, 9 May, 12 July 1866; Copy of M. C. Maxwell to Bishop J. Strain, 14 July 1866, DDEV/60/31 Constable Maxwell Papers.

⁷³ E. Caswall, *The Child's Manual: Forty Days' Meditations on the Chief Truths of Religion as Contained in the Church Catechism* (London, 1856), vi. Cf. *Dublin Review* (1879), 424-5, 445-6. Also O.P. Rafferty, *Catholicism in Ulster, 1603-1983* (London, 1984), 98 on Maynooth piety rather than intellect.

operation in Cumnock, Kilmarnock and the surrounding areas of Hurlford, Irvine, Dalry, Kilbirnie for hundreds of pupils. Girvan claimed 80-100, Maybole 60, Wigton 90 to 100 scholars in attendance on Sundays. A conservative estimate would indicate around 2,500 pupils.⁷⁴ The hard-pressed Catholic Poor Schools Committee generously gave £200 to Dumfries and £100 to Dalbeattie schools while Marmaduke Constable Maxwell and Bute generously supported St Aloysius's College in Glasgow.⁷⁵ The Catholic community was asserting its independence of the surrounding ethos: inside such gatherings children and young adults were safe from proselytism, from vice and given a sense of Catholic solidarity.

The Education Act of 1872 concentrated minds. Schools sprang up across the diocese: in Kilmarnock, 1872; in Girvan and Stranraer, 1873. That year the Marquess of Bute gave a new school for 150 children at Cumnock. Others followed: Creetown 1876, Troon, 1880, Hurlford, 1883; Dalmellington, Maybole, Muirkirk, Wigton, and Newton Stewart in 1887.⁷⁶ Nuns and pupil teachers were insufficient to meet demand. Notre Dame training college, Liverpool, trained 30 women teachers for Galloway of whom 13 were English Catholics while St Mary's, Strawberry Hill provided some males thus further encouraging a British Catholic identity.⁷⁷ Only after 1894 would Scottish teachers be trained in Scotland.

There were many other problems. In 1883, for example, New Cumnock began a two-room school with 21 pupils, 14 desks and two blackboards. Twenty of the first 31 pupils had been at non-Catholic schools and nine at none. Many were from cramped miners' rows in Connell Park.⁷⁸ Within two years Lady Bute was providing daily soup for all pupils and an annual Christmas party. Poverty bedevilled improvement: on occasion children were removed to the poorhouse or remained at home in winter for lack of boots or while mothers worked at the harvest. The S.V.P. often had to helped with fees, books and boots. Even so in 1886 the Rev. Patrick McLaughlin, Ayr, while striving to establish Catholic schools in the locality was also catechising 200 children. Even so growth continued: in 1895 the Largs

⁷⁴ SCD, 1862-77.

⁷⁵ Rev. C.B. Parkinson to M. Constable Maxwell, 23, 29 Nov 1864, DDEV/60/6/31, ix and 23 May 1871, Constable Maxwell Diary, Constable Maxwell Papers.

⁷⁶ SCD, 1873-1888.

⁷⁷ See my "Catholic Teachers for Scotland: the Liverpool Connection", *Innes Review*, 45 (1994), 47-70.

⁷⁸ Register of Admissions, Progress and Withdrawal, St Margaret's Primary, New Cumnock, nos. 1-31 and 123-83, East Ayrshire Record Office, Baird Library, Cumnock.

school opened with 49 pupils: by 1912, 74 were enrolled.⁷⁹

The financial burden was immense: in the 1890s Dalmellington spent almost half the parish income on schools. By the turn of the century Galloway had provided education for over 2,400 pupils for almost fifteen years. Even so by 1911 only 4.4 per cent of Catholic children were enrolled in Catholic schools.⁸⁰ In Skelmorlie and New Abbey a compromise solution allowed Catholics to receive religious instruction within state schools. If Catholic schools inspectors noted discipline and excessive rote learning, they were describing a basic community in formation.

Social advance was limited. Financial pressures and lack of affordable, accessible higher or secondary schools ensured few pupils remained beyond the minimum leaving age. Cramped schools, ill-paid teachers and family pressures meant only a handful proceeded to higher schools in Glasgow, St Mungo's or St Aloysius'.⁸¹ Meanwhile the opening of the Marist boarding school, Dumfries, provided a more cosmopolitan, ultramontane influence. Secondary education slowly grew within the diocese. St Michael's Academy, Kilwinning, under Passionist leadership expanded opportunities after the First World War. But only after 1945 did massive expansion begin. Even so large numbers of feeder primary schools to secondary institutions served to dilute parochial identity. In more recent times some schools have closed as rolls have declined although some commuter areas like Kilbirnie and Kilwinning continue to increase.⁸²

A lively lay sub-culture developed. Laymen assumed a confident public stance. In 1830s and 1850s Charles Larkin, Newcastle radical editor, with two brothers a priest and a bishop, came to Dumfries to rebut bigotry.⁸³ But a quiet low profile within a self-contained body seemed the norm. Parochial libraries, annual picnics, outings, regular concerts and socials counteracted protestant proselytism, the public house and atheistic socialism. Monthly communions of various parochial associations in their regalia reinforced group consciousness. By mobilising popular religion, clergy asserted leadership, contained

⁷⁹ Rev. McLaughlin, 26 June 1879, APFR, vol. 8, fos. 85-6; *ibid.*, 22 June 1880, 8, fos. 136-7; 21 June 1886, *ibid.*, 9, fos. 80-1 and Largs School Logbook, 4 March 1895, 26 April 1912, Ayrshire Record Office, Ayr.

⁸⁰ Bishop J. McLachlan, Rapport sur le Diocèse de Galloway, Nov. 1889, APFR, vol. 9, fos. 503-09; *Annual Grant School Returns*, 1894-1904 and *SCD*, 1894-1904.

⁸¹ See the *Annual Returns on Education Scotland* 1880-1904 for statistics.

⁸² Strathclyde Regional Survey 1994. I am grateful to the Rev. Michael Lynch for figures.

⁸³ E.g. *Orthodox Journal*, 2 July 1836. Thanks to his brother, a priest at Hotel Dieu, Montreal he was able to rebut Maria Monk.

lay activists and drew their insulated flock from the local into a universal church. In blending locals and elite converts with Irish, Highlander, Lithuanian, Polish, Italian, Iberian, Belgian and English migrants the diocese helped diverse communities to expand, thrive and maintain their Catholic character. In the process hosts and incomers were transformed. A solid "de-radicalised" faith emerged, favouring social justice but loathing any whiff of revolutionary atheistic socialism.⁸⁴

Popular tracts, magazines and temperance organisations, particularly the League of the Cross, strove for respectability: at least 19 branches were founded by 1914. Their longevity varied enormously dependent on clergy, lay enthusiasm and changing leisure habits. Roger Quinn, the weaver poet, staunchly advocated temperance on the platform and in print. Some uncompromising Irish clergy hated Scottish clerical sinners as much as the sin: temperance became an Irish identity.⁸⁵ In the 1880s League of the Cross spread from branches at Troon and Annbank. Some parochial associations continued in strength until recently: St Brigid's Kilbirnie, Temperance Association claimed 209 members from 1951 to 1968.⁸⁶ From an early period infant, adolescent and adult confraternities targeted those at risk, fostered social and kinship networks and even spawned marriages within the group.

Another device to celebrate loyalty and the Scottish character of Catholicism was pilgrimage.⁸⁷ Whether as tradition, culmination of renewed religious devotionism, leisure with pious overtones, the saint rooted the universal into the locality. It followed the revival of Catholic interest in Iona 1888 and 1897.⁸⁸ National pilgrimages to Lourdes began in 1899, to Carfin from 1916 and occasionally to honour St Margaret in Dunfermline. Older than Columba and Augustine, St Ninian united the Catholic body of all sorts and

⁸⁴ See P.J. Corish, "Cardinal Cullen and the National Association of Ireland", 117-65 in *Reactions to Irish Nationalism*, ed. A. O'Day (London, 1987), and J.G. Alexander, *The Immigrant Church and Community: Pittsburgh's Slovak Catholics and Lutherans, 1880-1915* (Pittsburgh, 1987), 29-30 for comparisons.

⁸⁵ Cf. Rev. T Keane to Propaganda, 16 Aug. 1887, APFR, vol. 9, 206-44; SCD, 1814; R. Quinn, *The Touchstone of the Liquor Traffic: Or the Drunkard Manufacturers Exposed, being a Review of Mr J[ohn] Bradley's Anti-Permissive Lecture in the Mechanics Hall, Dumfries on March 25th 1872* (Glasgow, 1872).

⁸⁶ MSS Temperance Association Minute Book, St Brigid's, Kilbirnie.

⁸⁷ See Victor and Edith L.B. Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (New York, 1978), 14-18, 203, 241; M. Lee and S. Nolan, *Christian Pilgrimage in Modern Western Europe* (Chapel Hill, N.C, 1989).

⁸⁸ *Tablet*, 23 June 1888. J. Denvir, *The Life Story of an Old Rebel* (1910, Shannon 1970 edn.), 233; *Galloway Gazette*, 20 Aug. 1932.

conditions. The revived St Ninian pilgrimage coincided with the drive to canonise the Scot, John Ogilvie S.J. Aided by the Marquess of Bute and clerical leadership, it asserted Catholic space in an alien world. Local schoolchildren had often gone as part of the annual treat before World War I. But the Rev. Arthur Wrightson began the modern organised pilgrimage in 1924, the first since the Reformation.⁸⁹ More than 3,000 attended including the Duke of Norfolk, Catholic ex-servicemen, KSC and CYMS. The war years apart, it continues annually to this day but in a far more ecumenical vein. In recent years, it has served to bring the various parishes together; to unite youth pilgrims who walked from Ayr to Whithorn; to launch the diocesan RENEW programme. In 1993 the Apostolic delegate celebrated Mass there.⁹⁰

Romanita gained ground. The diocese was prominent in Roman pilgrimages. In 1871 Lord Archibald Douglas, convert brother to the Marquess of Queensberry, and the Scottish elite offered their sympathy to the Pope on the loss of his temporal power. As a priest, he returned with David Hunter Blair, J.O. Ogilvie and Robert Monteith to present over £2,000, vestments and a chalice.⁹¹ Later in 1887 the Maxwells were among Scottish pilgrims celebrating Leo XIII's jubilee.⁹² Eleven years later 30 priests and 100 laity went out on the first Scottish National Pilgrimage. In 1924 the Scottish pilgrimage went out under the leadership of the bishop of Galloway. Even in the Depression some 300 pilgrims went to Rome including many from Galloway.⁹³ The popularity of Lourdes grew as Catholics settled and prospered. These occasions were both demonstrations of faith and affluence.

At the same time, popular devotions appealed to the social romanticism of many elite Scottish Catholic converts. After all the Eglinton tournament, in 1839, had spawned enthusiasm for medievalism.⁹⁴ They recognised the holiness of poverty, their

⁸⁹ SCD 1933, 1936; S. McGhee, *Mgr Taylor of Carfin*, 106-08, 194, 220, 240; Sister Dominic Savio, *The Sisters of the Cross and Passion in the Diocese of Galloway* (n.p. 1988).

⁹⁰ SCD 1994. Cf. P. Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago, 1981), 40-5, 99; R. Gibson, *A Social History of French Catholicism, 1789-1914* (London, 1989); E. Oldmeadow, *Francis, Cardinal Bourne*, 2 vols. (London, 1914), ii, 12.

⁹¹ D.O. Hunter Blair, *A Medley of Memories* (London, 1920), 79-62 and his *Little Essays* (London, 1939), 107.

⁹² *Glasgow Herald*, 20 Feb. 1888.

⁹³ *National Scots Pilgrimage to Rome, 3-12 October 1933* printed programmes.

⁹⁴ See I. Anstruther, *The Knight and the Umbrella: An Account of the Eglinton Tournament, 1839* (London, 1963).

charitable, leadership roles, deference and reassuring stability. A paternalist squirearchy might restrain unbridled demagogues. In Galloway they emphasised public celebrations of faith – and often fatherland – and community building as disciplined shows of strength and respectability. They were for the benefit of insiders and outsiders. *Ne me impune lacessit* was not far away.

Unity, building plant and numbers were almost ends in themselves. Hard-pressed clergy had little time beyond sacramental services for socratic dialogue with lay angst. Flourishing Catholic Young Men's Societies, League of the Cross and the like, muscled aside more divisive political challenges. Like teachers clergy made discipline an end in itself: it was a prelude to Christian liberation. Converts were confident in their new found faith. It was a luxury afforded by their status, wealth and education: "The Church conquers in the long run by humility and holiness and every stimulant given by any of us to a harsher spirit though it may 'serve a turn' serves up somehow an account at compound interest against our holy things".⁹⁵ The Marquess of Bute, the staggeringly wealthy, cultivated and zealous convert and his close convert friend, David Hunter Blair, former Zouave, later Abbot of Fort Augustus, were major strengths. Bute proved a generous patron of the new diocese. He had St Sophia, Galston built by Rowand Anderson and St Ninian's, Cumnock, by William Burges, supported an excellent choir, gave scholarships and proved ready to assist in any good cause.⁹⁶ Captain Hunter Blair bequeathed funds to Kirkoswald church; the Duc de Coigny gave the church site and additional funding at Girvan.⁹⁷ In fourteen years at Annan, gifted by the Marquess of Bute, at Galston and Girvan, the Rev. Lord Archibald Douglas (1850-1938) proved an effective pastor. A temperance advocate he worked tirelessly against proselytism and for children's emigration schemes to Canada while the son of Douglas Dick, patron of Cupar and Kirkcaldy missions, followed his education at Stonyhurst and Oscott as pastor of New Abbey for over 40 years.⁹⁸

In July 1872, the Rev. John Henry Newman received Edith

⁹⁵ Robert Monteith to Rev. McLachlan, 29 June 1848, Scottish Catholic Archives, Edinburgh.

⁹⁶ *Tablet*, 1 Sept 1883. See J.M. Cook, *William Burges and the High Victorian Dream* (London, 1981), 255-9, 284.

⁹⁷ *Tablet*, 25 Oct. 1879; *Church of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, Girvan: Centenary, 1860-1960* (1960), 8.

⁹⁸ *Tablet*, 27 May 1882; 21 Oct. 1883; 1 March, 10, 24 May, 7, 21 June, 9 Aug., 4 Oct., 6 Dec. 1884; 3, 24 Jan., 15, 22 Aug., 26 Sept., 7 Nov., 5 Dec. 1885; 25 Jan., 17, 31 July, 7 Aug. 1886; *League of the Cross Magazine*, March 1885; *Month*, 59 (1887), 457-68; *Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser*, 19 Oct., 17 Dec. 1892; Anon., *Annan St. Columba's Church, 1794-1994* (Annan, 1994), 11.

Houldsworth, Carrick House, Ayr into the church at Edgbaston: she was confirmed at his request by archbishop Charles Eyre.⁹⁹ Many converts came from aristocratic background, had prospered through industrial developments and were closely linked by faith and marriage: the Butes, Norfolks, Herries, Lothians, Lovats and Constable Maxwells. Lady Lucy Duff-Gordon, Halkin, Ayrshire, the Rev. J.C. Robertson (1848), chaplain to the Duke of Buccleuch, and Francis Fairlie, Coodham, converted. The Duchess of Buccleuch came of the Catholic Thynne family while the Duchess of Hamilton was a Hohenlohe of Sigmaringen. Robert Monteith and his sister underwrote Newton Stewart: like bishop John Strain they were acquainted with German Romanticism particularly the Nazarene schools of artists.¹⁰⁰ Their social status and financial substance provided a much-needed boost to a minority community.

A clerical desire to inject some self-confidence into the laity found expression in the developing lectures, parochial libraries, novels and newspapers. Monthlies like *The Catholic Fireside* and *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* offered solace and reassurance, *Catholic Progress* and *Catholic Magazine* tried to elevate popular culture.¹⁰¹ In the wake of ephemeral and two abortive schemes, a cheap Scottish Catholic newspaper finally began in 1885. The refusal of local newsagents to carry these papers meant a dependency on church sales, a restrained outlook and a reluctance to challenge clerical authority.

The Church portrayed itself as the only friend of the poor, a refuge, solace and support. More biting Roger Quinn, the wandering poet, and his son denounced *laissez-faire* capitalism.¹⁰² But self-esteem, fortitude recreation amid communal achievements were more important to a body in pursuit of excellence. Initiatives included choirs, brass and flute bands and football. Music reputedly civilised and disciplined the primitive. The group came together in cooperation. But perhaps the most successful lay organisation was the Catholic Young Men's Society. Founder novelist the Rev. Dr J.B. O'Brien,

⁹⁹ Edith Houldsworth to Archbishop C. Eyre, 4 Nov. 1872 with enclosure from Rev. J.H. Newman to Archbishop C. Eyre. GAA.

¹⁰⁰ The Constable Maxwell Papers have correspondence on prosperity through Liverpool trade. On the background see M. Bence-Jones, *The Catholic Families* (London, 1992). *Tablet*, 26 April 1884; M. Turner, *Life and Labours of John Menzies Strain* (Aberdeen, 1922), 190-91.

¹⁰¹ *Catholic Progress* began its short life in Glasgow. All these journals developed from the 1870s.

¹⁰² "The Poor Outwith the Church", *Catholic Progress*, May 1873, 97-9 and 27 Mar. 1897.

Limerick, brought his society over in the 1850s.¹⁰³ It rapidly spread throughout Scotland. Large CYMS halls were built in Troon and Saltcoats while Dumfries proved a thriving centre and hosted its annual conference on occasion, as in 1881. Dedicated to temperance, elevation and conservatism, it was an influential body. After Newman's sermon to the 1879 conference, Mr Carmont of Dumfries attacked international socialism "and all those societies which are leagued against order".¹⁰⁴

Anti-Catholic campaigns only served to intensify loyalty to the Church. The Orange Lodge in Scotland began in Ayrshire (1798) but remained a potential challenge rather than a threat until later.¹⁰⁵ The Protestant Institute (1860) campaigned throughout the later nineteenth century. The Rev. J.A. Wylie was at Dumfries in 1866 and 1878; the Rev. W. McCourt visited Newton Stewart in 1869 and the Rev. Hugh Stowell appeared at Dumfries in February 1877.¹⁰⁶ The acerbic Wylie had visited Italy at least four times and lived there for a year. Popery was irreconcilable with "free government, civilisation and progress": the confessional enslaved the Catholic.¹⁰⁷ To him St Vincent de Paul Society brothers were the Jesuits of the nineteenth century.¹⁰⁸

The Rev. Robert Thomson, controversial Presbyterian minister of Kilmarnock and Glasgow, stood as the first Scottish-born, popular parliamentary candidate for Kilmarnock burghs after the 1867 Reform Act. He opposed privilege: monopoly landownership, primogeniture, purchase of army commissions and of course, Popery. Following the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy he addressed a huge Orange rally in Cumnock. Before some 1500 marchers he denounced the presbytery for failing to summon Archbishop Charles Eyre to appear before them: they had failed to stem papal aggression.¹⁰⁹ At the Free Church, Saltcoats, February 1879, the Rev. J.A. Wylie played on the same fears: the restoration of the hierarchy proved Protestant decline and a

¹⁰³ *Tablet*, 8 July 1854; 17 Feb., 21 July, 15 Dec. 1855, 28 Jan., 8 Mar., 12 June, 12 July 1856.

¹⁰⁴ *Tablet*, 9 Aug. 1879. Also *Tablet*, 13 July 1881. *SCD* 1893.

¹⁰⁵ E.g. *Kilmarnock Standard*, 20 July 1878. See E. McFarland, *Protestants First: Orangeism in Nineteenth Century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1990), for the movement in Galloway diocese.

¹⁰⁶ See reports in *The Bulwark* of these and similar activities.

¹⁰⁷ *The Awakening of Italy and the Crisis of Rome* (London, 1866), vii. He is obviously playing on the words in the encyclical *Quanta Cura* (1864).

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 81, 228. Zouaves were "scum of all nations", 291. Wylie visited Italy in 1851, 1861, 1864, 1865.

¹⁰⁹ *Kilmarnock Standard*, 26 Sept., 3, 10, 17 Oct. 1868; 20 June 1873; 21 July 1877; 20 July 1878; *Baillie*, July 1877.

growing threat to liberty and Christianity.¹¹⁰ Popery meant an enfeebled, degenerate race.

His rhetoric touched on well rehearsed local themes. In 1828 tract societies of anti-Catholic mind set began in Ardrossan, Saltcoats and Stranraer.¹¹¹ Their fears of Popery were exacerbated by masses of Irish Catholic immigrants in the wake of the Famine and by the Disruption. Poor, migratory Catholics aroused their worst suspicions. Disturbances followed Orange parades at Newton Stewart 1823, Dumfries 1826, Girvan 1831, Dalry 1846 and Kilmarnock in 1847. Failure of European revolutions in 1848 gave further proof of the alien nature of Catholicism. The subsequent lecture tours of Louis Kossuth, "Angel Gabriel" Orr and the Rev. Alessandro Gavazzi rallied outraged Protestants against papal authoritarianism. In particular Gavazzi was prominent in local campaigns against popery. On regular missions to raise funds for the Free Church of Italy he vividly claimed "ritualism was Popery in disguise".¹¹² The Protestant Institute continued the campaign. In the early twentieth century, a former Marist turned Lutheran regaled Dumfries listeners about the scandalous vices of his former brethren: a legal suit followed. But ironically as Rome was losing governmental props in Europe, she was making inroads into

¹¹⁰ *Ardrossan and Saltcoats Herald*, 2 Feb. 1879. An Orangeman, he often lectured to the Glasgow Workingman Conservative Association. His numerous publications include *Words to the Protestants of Scotland on the Projected Establishment of the Papal Hierarchy* (Edinburgh, 1878); *Handbook on Popery* (Edinburgh, 1854) (*The Seventh Veil: Or the Past and Present of Papal Europe as Shown in the Apocalypse* (Edinburgh, 1848); *Gladstone's Irish Policies* (Edinburgh, 1886).

¹¹¹ *Scottish Missionary and Philosophical Register*, vol. 9, May 1828, 214-15; vol. 10, 1829, 269-70.

¹¹² *Ardrossan and Saltcoats Herald*, 10 Aug. 1878. Also 23, 30 Aug. 1873 noting his forthcoming sermon on Sunday 31 Aug. He was supported by the Rev. Ross and the Rev. Stewart. Also Gavazzi's *Free World*; *Bute Observer and Dunoon and Keir Record*, 9 June 1855; *Saltcoats Herald and Advertiser*, 29 Nov. 1858, 28 May 1859. They visited Stewarton, Kilwinning and elsewhere. R.S. Sylvain, *Alessandro Gavazzi*. 2 vols. (Quebec, 1962), is standard. Also *Scottish Protestant*, 6 Sept. 1851, H. Rudiman, *Italian Nationalism and English Letters* (London, 1940); Rev. M. Prochet, Waldensian Church, regularly toured 1866-78, Ayr, *Ardrossan or Galloway Journal*, 14 March 1878; J.M. MacInnes, "The Glasgow Orange Walks: The Twelfth of July Celebrations, 1821-1900", B.A. Hons. dissertation, University of Strathclyde, 1991; J. Hanly, *St. Winnin's, Kilwinning A Short History* (n.p., n.d.), 12. On the background see "The Progress of Popery", *Blackwoods*, 44 (1838), 494-507; W.G. Todd, "The Irish in England", *Dublin Review*, 41 (1856), C. Conrad, "Origins of Parish Missions in England and the Early Passionist Apostolate, 1840-50", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 15 (1964); R.J. Klaus, *The Pope, The Protestants and the Irish: Papal Aggression and Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Nineteenth Century England* (New York, 1987).

Scotland.¹¹³

Irish were very poor but few received poor relief in the early years. They neither qualified by provable residence, religious disposition or by totally disability. Police in 1880 reported several thousand vagrants in the southwest.¹¹⁴ A goodly number were presumably Irish seasonal workers. In 1870 the Rev. Thomas Keane ministered to 66 Catholic paupers in the Irvine combination poorhouse.¹¹⁵ In Cumnock for example the first Catholic only appeared on the roll in May 1860. Only 13, twelve Irish-born and one Catholic from Kilmarnock, 4 per cent of 299 applicants appear before 1882. The next twenty years produced 300 applicants but only 16 or slightly more than five per cent were Catholic. Between 1907 and 1923 around eleven per cent, 27 of 310 applicants were Catholic. They comprised fifteen Scottish-born, three Irish-born, three Spaniards and four others.¹¹⁶

The alien character of Catholicism was repeatedly seen in the arrivals of Irish, Lithuanians, Italians, Spaniards, Belgians among others. Lithuanians came in considerable numbers in the late nineteenth century. Reputedly recruited by agents they arrived via Hull, Leith or Dundee.¹¹⁷ Refuting tales of their reactionary,

¹¹³ T. Crosskey, "Conversions to Romanism", *The Presbyterian Record*, 6 (1885), 201-25.

¹¹⁴ *Report Inspector of Constabulary (Scotland)*, 1881, 20-41.

¹¹⁵ Irvine Poor Law 1866, Ayrshire archives, Ayr. Cf. [Henry Manning], "The Wants of the Catholic Church in England", *Dublin Review*, n.s., 1 (July 1863), 139-66.

¹¹⁶ New Cumnock Register of the Poor, 1843-1923, Baird Institute, New Cumnock. My evidence contrasts with earlier days in R.H. Campbell cited above and Andrew Blaikie, "Unhappy after Their Own Fashion: Lives and Family Biographies in Southwest Scotland, 1855-1939", *Scottish Social and Economic History*, 18 (1998), 95-113.

¹¹⁷ "Lithuanians and Letts", *Glasgow Herald*, 23 Dec. 1910. *Minutes of Evidence before the Select Committee on Immigration* (1888), 287 on Glengarnock Poles leaving for America. They were objects of suspicion see *Hansard*, 22 (1911), 2 March 1911; *ibid.*, 258; 15 (1910), 1042, 23 Mar. 1910. *Royal Commission on Mines*, Cd4349 (1908), Q11481, Q17548, Q17794-97. Also W. Wolkovich-Valkavicius, *Lithuanian Religious Life in America* (Norwood, Mass., 1991), i, 179 and 304-09 notes three priests emigrating to America: Rev. Vincent Warnaginis (1866-1915), publisher of the Scottish-based *Vaidelyte* (Vestal Virgin); Rev. F. Kenesis, both often at Kilbirnie, and Rev. Paul Baltikis. On the background see Ellen O'Donnell, "'To keep our fathers' faith...': Lithuanian Immigrant Religious Aspirations and the Policy of the West of Scotland Catholic clergy, 1889-1914", *Innes Review*, 49 (1998), 168-83; M. Rodgers, "Political developments in the Lithuanian Community in Scotland, c.1890-1917" in *"From the other shore": Russian Political Emigrants in Britain, 1880-1917*, ed. R. Slatter (London, 1984), 21-45; C. Holmes, *John Bull's Island: Immigration and British Society, 1871-1971* (London, 1988), and K. Lunn, "Reactions to Lithuanian and Polish Immigrants in the Lanarkshire Coalfield, 1880-1914", in *Hosts, Immigrants and Minorities: Historical Responses to Newcomers in British Society, 1870-1914*, ed. K. Lunn (Folkestone 1980).

unhygienic quality some 600 were settled in Ayrshire by 1910, mainly near Kilbirnie and Birnieknowe. Almost ninety per cent were employed in the pits and around ten per cent in steel and ironworks. Their women folk did not work outside their clean, neat homes, adorned with religious pictures even though they invariably wanted money to move on to the United States within four or five years. Not surprisingly these disciplined Lithuanians were staunch trade unionists, deeply attached to their faith and culture. So eager to learn, their children, enrolled under names like Paterson, passed as natives.¹¹⁸ Intra-ethnic marriages reinforced a tightly knit group: other matches were very rare. In Kilbirnie during more than 35 years only one Lithuanian woman produced an illegitimate child.¹¹⁹

Smaller numbers of other groups arrived. In 1905 for example five and in 1913-15 eleven Spaniards came via Dowlais to New Cumnock school. Belgians arrived as refugees late in 1914. Within a year eight were attending the school: seven more followed. Italians were scattered in small numbers through Ayrshire and Dumfries: some were even found in Sanquhar. Several from Lucca were in Cumnock school.¹²⁰ At Irvine school four Italians entered in 1914-15. Most settled though retaining strong links with Italy. Many pupils returned to Italy or Belgium while Lithuanians, Poles, Irish and local Scots went on to North America. Some returned during the depression but finally went back to America in 1937.¹²¹

Marriages was a major definition of Catholic identity. In the early days Catholic marriages had been contracted with minimal investigation. At least one visiting Irish priest was deeply distressed: too many partners were Protestant.¹²² Perhaps he was shocked by the behaviour of a less cohesive minority in a more complex society. Many observers believed Catholic "leakage" followed mixed

¹¹⁸ "The Stranger Within Our Gate", *Glasgow Herald*, 28 Jan. 1911. *Our Lady and St. Patrick, 1867-1967 Centenary* (1967), 7.

¹¹⁹ St Brigid's marriage and baptismal records. The first baptism of child of Lithuanian, Joseph Mejsak and a Scottish woman, Susan Carberry, took place on 2 Feb. 1899. Lithuanians were also settled in Stevenston, Cumnock and Skares. See *The See of Ninian*, ed. McCluskey, 122-5.

¹²⁰ New Cumnock R.C. School Admissions, 1906-09, 1913-15, 1923, 1937-43 and Logbook, 11 Sept., 1 Oct. 1915; Irvine R. C. Logbook, 1914-15. The Spaniards presumably came through the Marquess of Bute's Welsh and the Coltness company's Spanish interests. J.L. Carvel, *The Coltness Iron Company: A Study in Private Enterprise* (Edinburgh, 1948), 69, 159.

¹²¹ Irvine R.C. Logbook 1936-37, Mary and Margaret McCrudden.

¹²² Rev. "Raineron" (?), Glasgow to Mgr. W. Kirby, 20 Oct. 1850, Kirby papers, Irish College, Rome.

marriages.¹²³ As the Catholic group grew and more potential Catholic marriage partners were available so attitudes shifted. Leakage was a matter of increasing concern in the later nineteenth century. Few Catholics overtly apostasized – John MacDonald, a Saltcoats Catholic turned Protestant Institute lecturer was a notable exception – but priests worried about mixed marriages. As in Canada and elsewhere clergy feared eroding loyalty in such unions. At Saltcoats one in six was mixed and as early as 1858 clergy were instructed to discourage them without “intemperate or irritating language”.¹²⁴

Unease developed over leakage through mixed marriages. Much depended on perceptions of lay or priestly neglect. For example the Rev. Thomas Keane revolutionised his Irvine parish in Ayrshire. Between 1866-67 and 1871-72 he transformed his church; with improved decoration, numerous voluntary associations, parish reading rooms and, aided by the Marquess of Bute, a school. In the process he won respect from people and ministers of all denominations. By visiting every house within miles of his base, he reclaimed many lapsed souls and greatly increased Easter communicants. He rekindled a strong sense of faith among his folk, intensified their awareness and loyalty while retaining respect for other faiths. In a remarkable letter he told Rome that “If we and our separated brethren were often brought into contact, if we were more intimately acquainted, the effect would be beneficial in wearing down prejudices, in softening religious acrimony and in diffusing a spirit of forbearance and charity”.¹²⁵ Catholics and Protestants did cooperate on occasion. For example, amid concern at the disturbances and crime following the 300 railway and waterworks navvies around Largs, Mrs Hunter of Haylie and Miss Mary Lawrie, Fairlie, provided an alcohol-free shelter for ten hours a day. They gave a large hut and ante-room furnished with tables, benches and adorned with scripture mottoes. The Rev. Herman van Baer, (1844-1907) joined Presbyterian clergy at the opening ceremony on 1 July 1877.¹²⁶

Although maintaining good relations, more revealingly Keane’s parish saw the number of marriages of two Catholic partners rise from 1: 7.4 to 1: 1.2 weddings. The number of baptisms of children with

¹²³ Rev. Charles Conroy, 28 May 1858, APR, vol. 6, fos. 280-81 and fos. 309-10, 28 May 1859.

¹²⁴ Condon Diaries, chapter 36, 457; Bishop J. Murdoch Pastoral Letter, 22 Jan. 1859. *Bulwark*, July, Sept. 1907, July 1909. Cf. B.P. Clarke, *Piety and Nationalism*, 51.

¹²⁵ Rev. Thomas Keane, 16 Aug 1887, APFR, vol. 9, fo. 211, thanking Protestants for their kind support as reported in *Renfrewshire Independent*, 15 Oct 1864.

¹²⁶ *Saltcoats and Ardrossan Herald*, 9 Feb., 2 March 1878.

both parents Catholics rose from 5 out of 37 to 54 of 66 couples.¹²⁷ It may reflect his outlook, a larger growing pool of potential Catholic partners and the aftermath of the First Vatican Council. Whatever the cause the figures reflect changing Catholic attitudes, greater solidarity and a general sharpening of religious sentiments.

Ultramontane discipline demanded greater caution over mixed marriages. The Scottish bishops debated the issue at their first meeting after the appointment of Charles Eyre to Glasgow.¹²⁸ Routine and habit in devotion and formal observance made disciplined faith part of oneself. Regulation of mixed marriage maintained authority, clerical dominance and lay unity; it enabled the church to evade more pressing critical matters, intellectual, social or political.

In Galloway, Bishop John McLachlan told Propaganda he believed the loss of faithful through mixed marriages was more prevalent in rural areas like his own diocese:

It is certain that in the towns, where Catholics are united in large numbers with several churches, schools and priests, they support each other; their faith is in proportion more firm, stronger and more fervent. They encourage and associate with one another. In addition, mixed marriages are proportionately rare among them. But it is otherwise where Catholics are few [in number] and dispersed in a large Protestant district. Sadly, such is the case in this diocese.¹²⁹

The Papal decree, *Ne Temere*, 1908 gave formal shape to those fears. Only marriages before a Catholic priest were valid, even if one of the partners was a non-Catholic. It recognised and increased distances between the Scottish churches.¹³⁰ That pronouncement remained in effect until after the Second Vatican Council. Preaching against mixed marriages was commonplace in and out of season. The distance between Catholics and Protestants was greatly accentuated.

¹²⁷ Parish Returns, 1866-72, GAA and *Irvine Herald*, 2 Aug. 1879 in APFR, vol. 9, fo. 212.

¹²⁸ SCR, Bishop J. Strain to Grant, 18 July 1869. See James Britten's articles "The Work of the Laity", *Dublin Review*, 3rd ser., 18 (1887), 151-67 and "The Loss of Our Boys", *Month*, 59 (1887), 457-68; J. Curry, "The Leakage From the Catholic Church in Great Britain", *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 3rd ser., 12 (1891), 914-27. Similar concerns arose elsewhere. D. Ryan, *Beyond the Ballot Box; A Social History of the Boston Irish, 1845-1917* (Amherst, Mass., 1983), 47, and B. Clarke, *Piety and Nationalism*, 51 who questions whether they were a source of leakage.

¹²⁹ APFR, vol. 8, 1879-85, fo. 807. The report is translated in J. Sharp, *Reapers of the Harvest*, 132. St Margaret's baptismal records list several Orangemen.

¹³⁰ See K.M. Boyd, *Scottish Church Attitudes to Sex, Marriage and the Family, 1850-1914* (Edinburgh, 1980). 168.

Yet the effect was limited: in many parishes between a quarter and a third of marriages were mixed every year even before Vatican II. Behind the rhetoric there were no winners. If dispensations were refused, marginal Catholics drifted away and if secured male Catholic loyalty was at risk. Few Protestant mothers saw their children baptised in the church: the lapsed Catholic male was commonplace. In 1920 47 per cent were mixed marriages. In 1910-1914 only one parent was a Protestant but by 1921-1923 18 per cent to 33 per cent were children of mixed marriages.¹³¹ Today inter-faith marriages are far more common. But equally Scottish Catholic divorce rates have soared: between 1971 and 1996 the Catholic proportion of divorces has hovered around six and eight per cent each year.

Glasgow was not significantly different. At St Margaret's, Kinning Park, a large parish of Highland, Irish and other migrants, at the heart of an industrial and shipbuilding area, few married across ethnic boundaries. But an analysis of baptisms from 1875 to 1896 shows a fairly constant proportion of children from parents in mixed religious marriages. Leaving aside incomplete figures for 1882, 4,078 baptisms show some 751 or 18 per cent, were of mixed religious parentage and 178 were illegitimate. In 1875 the parish had 13 children from mixed marriages and 9 other converts and illegitimates in a total of 240 baptisms (9 %). The highest number of children baptised from mixed marriages 63 of a total of 273, or 23 per cent, and 6 illegitimate babies was in 1893. The average was almost 22 per cent of baptisms. The mother was invariably Catholic and the father Protestant. Occasionally he is noted as an Orangeman. Only rarely does a Catholic father appear in the register. The same pattern was repeated following *Ne Temere*. Similar if gradually declining percentages persisted. The male Catholic was either intensely loyal or having made a mixed marriage abandoned his faith.¹³²

Whatever the explanation the role of the Catholic woman was critical. The young woman as virgin and the mother as nurturer and civiliser were vital: they were guardians of the faith and family. She had a vocation. Interestingly Scottish Catholic women were more likely to become schoolteachers than males. Such phenomena coincide with contemporary devotion to Mary, the mother, long suffering, patient and understanding. The diocese shared strong similarities with the rest of western Europe.¹³³

¹³¹ St Brigid's, Kilbirnie, marriage registers.

¹³² St Margaret's, Kinning Park, Glasgow Registers. I am grateful to the Rev. John Lyons for access.

¹³³ M. Fogarty, *Christian Democracy in Western Europe* (London, 1957), 354.

In Dalmellington, Kilbirnie and Waterside initially these fears seem misplaced. But few questioned. At Dalmellington from 1861 to 1889, not a single "mixed" marriage was recorded among 76 unions.¹³⁴ But in 1890-99, nine of 24 marriages (37%) were mixed but only one (3%) was mixed in the following decade. Thereafter they hovered at between a fifth and a seventh of parish marriages. From 1951 mixed marriages grew steeply from a half to three quarters until the most recent have all been mixed.

St Brigid's, Kilbirnie provides a different perspective. Lithuanian ethnic cohesion prevented mixed marriages. Following their arrival the average annual number of marriages grew markedly. Between 1890-99 it was 14.6 weddings per year and the next decade saw 20.5 p.a. By 1896 a fifth of all marriages were Lithuanian. They peaked at 83 per cent in 1901 and until 1910 made up a half to two thirds of marriages. Thereafter marriages sharply fell with the emigration of Lithuanians and the war: numbers declined to 10.8 p.a. and then continuously in subsequent decades.¹³⁵

The first mixed marriage was noted in 1912. In that decade less than five per cent were mixed marriages. In spite of *Ne Temere*, mixed marriages increased. In 1921 they comprised 47 per cent and averaged 29 per cent over the decade. In 1930-39, 19 or 14 per cent of marriages were mixed while 30, 22 per cent, converted on marriage. In fact the mixed figure might well read 49, 36 per cent. In 1940-60 around one third were mixed. By the sixties the figure was 48 per cent. In 1970-80 more than two thirds of all marriages were mixed with a peak of 78 per cent in 1980. Since 1967 only a small minority have been with both partners Catholic: from less than half to eight per cent in 1969.¹³⁶

Birth and baptismal rates reflected a more cohesive, settled and ageing congregation. Between 1859 and 1895 Kilbirnie does not record any baptism of a child of mixed parents. Baptismal rates suggest an increasingly settled, ageing congregation. Between 1859-69 baptisms averaged 79.2 p.a.; 1870-79, 59.6 ; 1880-89, 44.1. More significantly in 1880-1910 only 22 were of illegitimates. With the arrival of young Lithuanians baptismal rates shot up. In the decade 1890-99 they averaged 56 p.a. and in 1900-09, 81.3 p.a. Lithuanians constituted between about one fifth and a third every year until 1916.

¹³⁴ Dalmellington marriage registers held at St Paul's, Belmont, Ayr. In 1910-19, 7 of 37 (18%); 1920-30, 5 of 36 (14%); 1931-40, 13 of 64 (20%); 1941-50, 8 of 62 (13%); 1951-8 24 of 51 (47%); there is a gap 1958-74; 1975-84 45 of 60 (75%); 1985-94 30 of 42 (71%) and 1996-97 3 of 3 (100%).

¹³⁵ St Brigid's registers. In 1920-29 they dropped to 13.8; 1930-39, 13.7; 1940-49, 12.8; 1950-59, 9.2.; 1960-69, 12.2; 1970-79, 11.2; 1980-89, 7; 1990-95, 4.8.

¹³⁶ St Brigid's, Kilbirnie, register.

Only one illegitimate Lithuanian child was ever recorded. With the departure of many Lithuanians numbers declined to averages of 53.1 and 57.5. Lithuanians had only one baptism a year in the twenties and thereafter effectively disappear from the returns. After 1946 the total number never exceeded 40 p.a. and was usually between 25 and 36.¹³⁷

Waterside (1860) followed a similar pattern. From available records baptismal rates consistently dropped from 34 a year in the 1870s to 27.7 (1880-89) to 16.3 (1890-99) to 7.3 average (1990-98).¹³⁸ Those couples remaining had fewer children but more moved out from these parishes. From around 1900 partners came from a wider geographical area within Scotland or subsequently settled overseas particularly in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Canada or Australia. It was part of what Jay Dolan has called the suburbanisation of Catholicism.¹³⁹ In short old industrial, cultural communities were passing as opportunities, expectations and choices changed. A quiet form of integration, dilution or ecumenism was taking place.

To uplift and to bond their flocks in a religion of loyalty to the Catholic body, clergy supported Catholic parochial retreats, social events, outings, picnics and even football teams: intellectual assent was secondary to solidarity. In 1895 St John's Cumnock school went on a picnic to the Falls of Clyde and the congregation had an outing to Ayr; it also had a Christy Minstrel troupe and, briefly, Cumnock Celtic F.C.¹⁴⁰ In 1886 the Marquess of Bute gave the grounds of Dumfries House over to the Rev. Edward Hannan, (1836-1921) and the Edinburgh CYMS for sports and a picnic. A founder of the largest CYMS branch, Hibernian F.C. and a temperance body with 5,000 members. His success reflected on similar efforts in Kilmarnock and Girvan 1871, Wigton 1875, Newton Stewart 1886 and Hurlford 1897. St John's Cumnock established a CYMS branch in 1893 in rooms provided by Bute. Others proved short lived at Cumnock 1901-22, Annbank to 1907, Muirkirk 1910-15 and Auchinleck 1921-25. Very often these organisations had strong links with the League of the Cross temperance organisation and in one case Galston with a Catholic Boys Brigade, 1911-15. At Birnieknowe, Cumnock and Dumfries it organised brass and flute bands. In 1897 Dumfries Hibernian F.C. their first season, qualified for the Scottish Cup and won the Southern

¹³⁷ St Brigid's, Kilbirnie, marriage register.

¹³⁸ Waterside registers. The figures run as follows: 25.3, 5 converts (1900-09); 23.3, 5 converts (1910-19); 17.2, 5 converts (1921-30); 18.6 including 16 converts (1930-39); 21.4, 13 converts (1940-49); 26.6 12 converts (1951-60); 25.5 (1961-70); 11.9 (1971-80); 99 (1981-90).

¹³⁹ Quoted in R. Orsi, *Thank You, St. Jude*, 13.

¹⁴⁰ *St John's Parish, Cumnock* (1896).

Counties Charities Cup but folded by 1901.¹⁴¹ Dumfries also organised evening classes, weekly prayer meetings, lectures and New Year's Eve temperance entertainments. It served to generate a sense of solidarity, contain leakage and uplift tastes.

The CYMS monthly magazine, *Catholic Progress* (1872), enjoyed a wide circulation mixing apologetics, novels, history and contemporary devotions. It invariably tended to conservatism. It included articles of Scottish interest on shrines, tradition or conservative views on theology or by C.S. Devas on social issues.¹⁴² Self-help within the church would regenerate the poor and society. It was building on Roger Quinn's social criticism in *The Death of Scottish Hospitality, A Poem in Five Cantos* (Dumfries, 1848) and *Plain Truth or Error Exposed* (Dumfries, 1872). Not surprisingly by 1921 it resolutely opposed Communism and atheistic socialism.¹⁴³

Galloway found a militant anti-Communist crusader following the Second World War. Hamish Fraser (1913-86), like Louis Budenz and Douglas Hyde, a convert from Communism, proved a vigorous cold war champion of the church. Opposed to Communist infiltration of trades unions and the later to Vatican II he was closely associated with America Catholic right around William Buckley and *The National Review*. In that vein encouraged by conservative Jesuits his magazine, *Approaches*, continued to his death. They wanted old, simple certainties in a changing world.¹⁴⁴

Socially and politically the diocese was always divided. Elite Catholics like David Hunter Blair had rejoiced in the fivefold increase in the Unionist majority at Ayr in 1910 although in modern times most Catholics would be identified with Labour.¹⁴⁵ A Catholic Member of Parliament has still to be returned from any constituency within the diocese. If A.J. Cronin's petty volcanoes of bigotry are extinct James

¹⁴¹ Rev. McLaughlin, 26 June 1889, SRAP, vol. 9, fos. 445-6: M. Pagan, *Senior Non-League Football in Southwest Scotland* (Paisley, 1996), 35-6; J.C. Mellvean, *The Birth of Football in the Burns Country* (Cumnock, 1986), 46; SCD 1870-1930: J. Britten, "Catholic Clubs", *Month*, 54 (1885), 181-96. Cf. B.P. Clarke, *Piety and Nationalism*, 179.

¹⁴² See Mgr T. Capel's sermon at Paray-le-Monial, *Catholic Progress* (Sept 1873), 193-96 and "Recollections of a Pilgrimage", *ibid.*, Oct. 1873, 196-8; "Our Lady in Scotland", *ibid.* (Oct. 1880), 318, "Ancient Scotland", *ibid.* (March 1881), 81-4 and C.S.D., "The Church and the Poor", *ibid.* (April 1873), 75-77 and "The Poor Outside the Church", *ibid.* (May 1873), 97-9.

¹⁴³ Glasgow Annual Meeting 1921, SCD 1922.

¹⁴⁴ See Hamish Fraser's autobiography *Fatal Star* (Glasgow 1954). After he had fought in Spain, he became a Catholic, wrote for *Christian Order* and increasingly felt at odds with contemporary Catholic developments.

¹⁴⁵ *A New Medley of Memories* (London, 1922), 203. On Galloway misgivings re Catholics see J. Barke, *Land of the Leal* (Edinburgh, 1987 edn.).

Barke's quiet snobbish condescension towards Catholics seems to persist.

The Second World War brought numerous short and long-term difficulties. In September 1939, 300 Catholic children from Pollokshaws were evacuated to Millport and 400 to Irvine in the early months of the war but many soon returned home. Many evacuees went to Birnieknowe while 700 from the central belt went to Annan where many Ukrainians arrived after 1945.¹⁴⁶ British, Polish, American and French troops were posted to the area for various periods. Marriages outwith the locality further eroded old networks. A postwar boom in coal and steel helped regenerate the area for a spell as Catholics benefited from the welfare state in health and education. But many emigrated to Canada, America or Australia.

The demise of local heavy industries from the 1960s, the closure of many railway lines, the false dawn of Irvine new town and the emergence of new high-tech industries changed many patterns. Commuter housing developments sprang up around Kilmarnock, Kilwinning and Irvine. The qualified young became commuters to Glasgow or left the northern areas of the diocese altogether. The southern agrarian part of the diocese went into severe decline. The influx of new industries was slow and incoming retirees from northwest England along the Solway were small compensation. Old loyalties were fast eroding in the face of television, affluence, higher education and travel. Distant places of work and education eroded parochial loyalties: the elderly, retired and unemployed remained at hand. Ethnic differences faded although football and Orange lodges strove to keep them alive. Old devotional practices and voluntary organisations struggled to survive or find a new role in the aftermath of Vatican II.

The collapse of the communist threat, of parochial and ethnic loyalties have further attenuated old bonds of faith. Ill-prepared for Vatican II, the church has struggled to maintain itself amid a religious and social revolution. Family networks now stretch across the world rather than the diocese and across faiths. Differences are blurred in a more ecumenical age. Catholic marriage and birth rates decline as single parents and divorce increase. Religious vocations have markedly declined. Bishop Maurice Taylor has responded through his RENEW programme, by encouraging Whithorn pilgrimages and cultivating history and tradition. Diocesan support for Central American and African projects has provided reassurance and unity at

¹⁴⁶ *Solemn Opening of the New Church, Millport, Sunday 27 July 1958, (Millport, 1958), 7 and Annan, St. Columba's, 16.*

home through effective help abroad. These worthy enterprises have a certain ambivalence: an evasion of complex domestic issues and wholehearted endorsement of recent papal encyclicals. In short Galloway Catholics share the problems of the larger Scottish society: the old wine has yet to find a new bottle, They are hardly distinct except on abortion and under-representation as members of parliament. To that extent they are full participants in Scottish society. It had been a long journey.

TABLES

The Irish-born in Scotland, based on the Census 1861-1961

1861	204,083
1871	207,770
1881	218,745
1901	194,807
1911	174,715
1921	159,020
1931	124,296
1951	89,007
1961	80,533

Shifting Population in the Nineteenth Century: Census 1831-1891

Ayrshire	1831	145,055	grew by 1891 to 226,283
Dumfries	1831	73,770	minimal grew by 1891 to 74,221
Kirkcudbright	1831	40,590	declined by 1891 to 39,995
Wigtownshire	1831	36,258	declined by 1891 to 36,062

Origins of the clergy: in churches and chapels within what became the Galloway diocese 1830-78

Irish-born	Scottish-born	Belgian
10 (38%)	14 (54%)	1 and one birthplace unstated.
Total 26		

: in parishes which later became part of the Galloway diocese after 1948 , 1830-78

Irish	Scots-born	English	Italian	Unknown
20 (58%)	17 (43%)	1	1	1 = Total 40
Total Irish	Scots-born	Others	Unknown	
30 (45%)	31 (47%)	3	2	= Total 66

Origins of Clergy in the Galloway diocese Ordained 1879-1989

Irish	Scots-born	Born in diocese	English
Belgian			
83 (38%)	52 (24%)	6 (3%)	1
+ 48 (22%)			1
= 100 (46%)			
	British West Indies		
	26 (12%)		
Total 216			

These figures are derived from *SCD*; Christine Johnson, "Scottish Secular Clergy, 1830-78: The Northern and Eastern Districts", *Innes Review*, 40 (1989), 24-68 and her "Scottish Secular Clergy, 1830-78: The Western District", *ibid.*, 106-52, and *Scottish Secular Clergy, 1879-1989*, (Edinburgh, 1991). Members of religious orders are excluded. The origins of women in religious orders within the diocese proved impossible to obtain.

Number of Clergy and age profile within what now comprises Galloway diocese:

1831: 2 priests 2 chapels Average age *circa* 44

1869: 17 priests Average age or time ordained 18.2 years or *circa* 43 years of age

22 chapels and stations 14,000 population.

Ratio 1: 823.5

1900: 31 priests 21 missions and 44 churches 17,400 population

Ratio 1: 561.3

1950: 61 active (plus 12 retired) 48 churches 34,700 population

Ratio 1: 568.8

1991: 56 active (plus 10 retired etc) 25.8 or 49 years old 47 parishes 48,349 population

Ratio 1: 866.

Based on the entries in the annual *SCD*.